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BROKEN REEDS.

The Republican Party Tried by its Record.

ADDRESS AT WESTERVILLE, OHIO, AUG 25, 1875

—BY—



GIDEON T. STEWART.

The Crime of Crimes.

The cloud of a great crime is impending over the land. One third of the male adults who were last year buried in the cemeteries of our cities, were murdered men. They died by the hands of legalized assassins, who slay ten thousand a year of the citizens of this State, and a hundred thousand a year of the citizens of this Republic. Every year and from all parts of the land, the cry of thirty thousand in the State and three hundred thousand in the Nation, of new widows and orphans go up against this government to the avenging God of the widow and the fatherless. It is a crime which respects neither age nor sex. The fast coming and countless reports of its horrid work, are every moment and from every direction, brought on the lightning's wing and flashed upon us through the daily press. Yesterday, you read of one of its atrocities committed in the village of Jamestown, in Green country, Ohio, on the evening previous. A drunken father there, cut the the throat of his babe, aged about fifteen months, with a knife which he had sharpened on the stove, and attempted to kill his wife, who fled to the house of a neighbor. We have the usual fact appended, that when not in liquor, he was a kind husband and father, and peaceful citizen. No one can doubt that the whole cause of such shocking, but too common tragedies, in the homes of the million drunkards of our country, is the existence of a legalized crime against society, and that if the government would withdraw its protection and support from this crime, such scenes would soon cease to appal the public. But on the side of the liquor crime there is arrayed against the people, the whole power of the law. That wretched father brutalized and demonized by the crime which had destroyed his reason, that poor, anguished, horror stricken mother, and her murdered babe, were outlaws of the state, under the ruling crime. All who suffer its cruel inflictions are outlaws. If our statesmen speak or act on the subject, it is only to mock the people with some impotent pretense of legislation. Our United States Senator, Mr. Sherman, tells us that the best temperance law, and the only one he favors, is the so-called Adair law, which he says, gives compensation to "*innocent third parties.*" Senator Sherman, there are your innocent third parties,—that broken hearted mother weeping over her slain babe. What compensation can you offer her? Go to the courts, call in the jury, and let them assess that mother's damages. What can they give? Nothing. Against this crushing crime there is no indemnity for the God-given rights of life and happiness, for a dollar and cent damages. The scales of justice reject the gold and weigh only the dross. The law asks but one question, how much money has she lost? What can she answer? What right of property does she or any mother have, under our cruelly unjust laws, in the life of

her child. Not to the value of one cent. The sole right of property recognized by the law in that child, was in the blood-stained hand of its father.

Over twenty years ago, the women, in two villages of the county where I live, feeling themselves outlawed by the government which protected the destroyer of their homes, arose and formed in procession, with axes and hatchets in their hands, and attacked the places where intoxicating drinks were sold, breaking in the liquor casks and barrels and pouring their contents on the ground. In one of those villages, I was told by one of those ladies, last year, there has not been a dram-shop since, because, she said, the liquor men know that the same mothers, with their daughters grown up since, are there, ready to repeat the deed. The only symbol of protection there against this ruling crime, is an ax in a woman's hand. But is this the war we advocate? Are we here to advise this appeal to nature's law? No. This is not the war for Protection which we are waging. We point to these facts only to show that when government fails to perform the duty for which it was instituted by the people, to protect them in their natural rights; and when it lets loose, aids and abets the myrmidons of crime in their assaults on the people, these disorders are the natural and inevitable results of such a crime and such a warfare. We are the advocates of law, order, and civil liberty. Though outlawed by the crime which rules the government, yet we are not defenseless; for we hold in our hands the power that makes and unmakes governments and laws. We hold that weapon, brighter and sharper than any Toledo blade, more potent than the cannon; that weapon "firmer set, and better than the bayonet," the mighty peace weapon of the ballot.

THE PARTY QUESTION.

It is the season of the year when the political markets are open, and all the party hucksters are crying their wares; when party demagogues of the least character are loudest in proclaiming their principles; and when candidates for office who cannot pay for a certificate of discharge in bankruptcy, are most profuse in their professions and promises. It is also the time for glorious conflict on the political battle-fields by patriots, philanthropists and Christians, contending for the high principles of right and the great issues of humanity. It is not surprising that in this political canvass, when the two old parties of the country, are nearly balanced in this and other States, the direction given to the temperance vote is a topic of concern in the circles of politicians; and that approaches are made on all sides to delude Prohibition voters by false pretenses of friendship to their cause, or to withdraw their attention to minor, or false issues.

On the question of political action for temperance, there is this marked difference be

tween the two old parties. One is an open, undisguised enemy of our cause. The other has been a pretended friend, but has proved itself the worst foe, for the same reason that a traitor gaining access to place and power within the walls, is worse to contend with than the foe without. The Democratic party has looked with but one face and has spoken with but one tongue on this question, in all the States where it has made any expression, during the last twenty years. Now, as in the past, it everywhere advocates the license and regulation of the liquor crime, and opposes its prohibition. Not a Democratic convention, press or politician of any prominence, can be found in all the country, appealing to Prohibitionists, by any professions or promises, to induce them to vote the Democratic ticket on the ground that they will thus advance the cause of Prohibition. Here and throughout the nation, we meet the Democratic party in uncompromising conflict, and whatever we obtain from it when in power, in the way of temperance legislation, we take by such concessions only as are won from the foe in battle. It never invited or received the confidence of the Prohibitionists. It has broken no promises to them, for it has made none. It has not, for it could not betray their confidence. Hence it is, that the men who leave the Democratic party and unite with the Prohibition party, influenced by their regard for the temperance cause, seldom are seen returning to the old party standard. We count them by the thousands in our ranks in Ohio, and by the tens of thousands in the nation, standing firmly by the Prohibition flag. But the course of the Republican party and the effect of its policy have been very different. It has been double-faced, double-tongued, double-hearted and double-handed on this whole subject, from the beginning of its existence. Although at first temperance sentiment had some influence in its councils, now in all but the two States of Maine and Vermont, it is entirely subordinate to the liquor power, and only the overwhelming strength of the Maine Law among the people there, compels its support in these two States. Yet appeals have been and are unceasingly made by its leaders, presses and politicians to the Prohibition voters to give their suffrages in its behalf, on the pretense that it is more friendly to their principles than the Democratic party and that they can accomplish more in its success, than if, by independent voting, they permit the Democratic party to take power in the government.

In the present canvass, the Republican party comes, as usual, with one face to the temperance voters, repeating its old cheats, and with the other face looking down into the thousands of dram-shops of our country, protesting the sincerity of its servility there.

Let us no longer act the part of the fleeced gambler eluding to his cards, by coming up again to be cheated at every new election

game, as if we loved to be cheated for the sake of the cheat itself. Let us as rational men, take us the record of the Republican party, and demand the proof of its professions and the test of its pledges, in its past administration of our public affairs. A candid examination of that record will show that the reliance of the friends of temperance on the Republican party, is treacherous as that of Israel on Egypt, of which the Assyrian tauntingly said: "*Lo, thou trusteth in the staff of this broken reed on Egypt, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it: so is Pharaoh King of Egypt, to all that trust in him.*"

SLAVERY AND THE UNION—A FALSE ASSUMPTION.

The Republican party in its platforms and through its representative organs and advocates, arrogates to itself the glory of having abolished slavery and restored the Union, and for this, it claims the gratitude and continued suffrage of the people. The assumption is false. By the fiat of the Almighty, enforced by military necessity, slavery was abolished. The President as commander-in-chief of the army, as an act of war and under the war powers of the Constitution, proclaimed emancipation of the slaves, and the boys in blue executed the process. Not until the fact had gone into history, that slavery in the insurgent States was no more, not until by military and constitutional law it had there ceased, did the Republican party declare for its civil abolition. Then the Republican majority in Congress, sat down as recording clerk, to make up the record. With sovereign power to abolish it there, they permitted slavery to continue in the District of Columbia until in the second year of the war, and in the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico for nearly two months, after the President's proclamation, abolishing it in the States. The thirteenth amendment of the National Constitution abolishing slavery in all the Republic, received the votes of both Republican and Democratic legislatures. As well might Bancroft claim the honor of discovering America and the achievement of our National Independence, because as a historian he recorded those events, as the Republican party claim the credit of abolishing slavery, because it recorded in the statute book, what the army and the people under God, and irrespective of party, had already made the law of the land. There was no such pretense of partisan property in the results of the civil war, while it was in progress. Then the Republican leaders recognized the fact that it was the work of the whole people, and paid especial honor to Democratic statesmen, officers and soldiers. The highest, the ablest and most successful generals of the Union Army were taken from the Democratic party. Hundreds of thousands of Democrats fought under the Union flag, or voted the Union ticket in support of the war, and war Democrats were elect-

ed to the most eminent civil offices. Two of the three Presidents chosen by this union of war Democrats and Republicans, were taken out of the Democratic party, Andrew Johnson who lived and died a Democrat, and Gen. Grant who never voted a Republican ticket, until he voted for himself for President. The Republican party experienced great changes, first, by a union with hundreds of thousands of war Democrats during the war; second, by a union since the war, with myriads of men who fought under the Confederate flag or sustained its cause during the war; and third, by the loss of such pure and able leaders of the Anti-slavery cause, as Salmon P. Chase, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Cassius M. Clay, Gen. Banks, George Julian, Lyman Trumbull, and others, followed by hundreds of thousands, including the best men of the party, driven out of it by the force of its corruptions. Its political heights are now covered by rings of corrupt politicians, scoffing at all moral ideas, and linked with rings of like character, extending to, and controlling the party in every district or county of the Union. Looking into the Republican National Convention which nominated Grant for President the second term, we see the Confederate General, Thomas Settle, of North Carolina, in the Chair as presiding officer, and Confederate generals and officers among the delegates. Looking at his administration, we find among the most potential of his advisers and supporters in the South, "Hangman Foot," "Hangman Wise," Gen. Longstreet, Gen. Forrest, Gen. Mosby, and many other prominent Confederate generals and Statesmen. In fact the complete identity of the Republican party has been destroyed. If a warrant could be sent out to bring into Court the body of the Republican party as it existed when Abraham Lincoln was first chosen President, it would be returned by the Sheriff, "*Non est inventus.*" For a party thus metamorphosed, to claim hereditary honors and succession, with the undying gratitude of the people, for acts achieved by the people, themselves, is the sublimity of impudence and falsehood, in the face of its own public history.

PROMISED REFORMS.

We are often told by way of excuse for the recreant course of the Republican party on the Temperance question, that it has had other great interests in keeping, great trusts to be fulfilled, and great measures of public welfare and reform promised to the people, and to be carried out in the government, which have demanded its paramount attention; and that when these are disposed of, it will by and by take up the temperance cause in earnest. As to political parties which have been in power, the fair test of the future is in their past public record. The Republican leaders cannot plead a want of power from the people to enable them to perform their promises. In all the history of our nation, no other political party

was ever entrusted with such vast sway and patronage, as the Republican party. From the first inauguration of President Lincoln to the expiration of the last Congress, a period of fourteen years, it held the most absolute control of all departments of the National Government, with a large army and powerful navy at its command, during the war; and to this time, it has been sustained in power and profligacy, by enormous revenues. It spent more money in those fourteen years than the government before expended in its whole existence. The blood and treasure of the people were freely poured at its feet. It made many promises; it had grand opportunities for good; it sought and enjoyed without measure the confidence of the people; but it has signally failed in duty and betrayed their unbounded trust. It is very easy to take up the platforms and public records of the party from the beginning, and to discover precisely what were the great measures and reforms promised by it; but it is not so easy to find the promises that have been fulfilled. Let us briefly consider these promised reforms, and we shall see that as to nearly all, except the part which it took in the removal of Slavery and the preservation of the Union (and for its *part* in that work we will give it due credit), it has proved itself utterly unworthy of the high trust reposed in it by the people, and has given back into their hands only the broken reeds of Egypt.

We will consider them in their relation to the following topics.

FIRST—RELIGION AND MORALITY in the GOVERNMENT.

The primary and most important of all measures of political reform is that which seeks to carry into the framework of the government, and into all its operations, a practical recognition of its dependence on God and its duty of obedience to His laws. This is no union of Church and State; it is precisely the opposite. It is that grand philosophy which we find in the writings of Washington, and especially emphasized in his "Farewell Address" to his countrymen, in the Declaration of Independence, in the Ordinance of 1787, and in the lives and political teachings of the founders of the Republic. They affirm that God is the Creator of all men; that all human rights are the gifts of His hand, and that governments are instituted among men, for the sole purpose of protecting and enforcing these God-given rights by His authority and under His laws. Civil liberty consists in the prohibition of crimes by laws which depend entirely on the Divine decalogue. Take away those ten commandments, and there is no foundation left for any laws against crime, for civil liberty, or free government. Hence it is that slavery, the liquor crime, and every other crime against society, is opposed to this doctrine of religion and morality in the government, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Hence also, all politics are cor-

rupt, which are not based on morals founded on religion. Religion and morality are not the same, for the reason that religion includes more than morals; but there is no morality without religion. Religion and politics are not the same, for the reason that the greater and the less are not the same. But the greater includes the less; politics is a part of religion; and no citizen is a consistent Christian who does not conform his political action, in the light of his conscience, to the laws of God. Nothing is more absurd than the attempt now made by the demagogues of the liquor crime, to confound religion with sect, and politics with party. There are parties without religion, morals or politics. The two old parties of our country are immense illustrations of this truth. So there are sects and churches with little or no religion. A witty lawyer once told me why he attended a certain church. He said there were two reasons. In the first place, he liked his wife and she liked that church; and in the second place, the preacher there never said anything to interfere with any man's business, politics or religion. There are too many such churches. Sects and parties are mere tools made by men to work with. When they become corrupt, worn out and useless, they should be cast aside. But the truths of religion and politics are eternal and changeless as their Divine Author.

This doctrine of religion and morality as essential to pure politics and free government, distinguished the first founders of the Republican party. The Liberty Party National Convention of 1843, which nominated James G. Birney for President, resolved, in these words: "That we regard voting, in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty;" and, "It is a principle of universal morality that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws;" and, "That the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the laws of God." The next year over sixty-two thousand voters declared for this doctrine, in support of that nomination at the ballot box, and this sowed the seed of that moral harvest which ripened in the election of Lincoln to the presidency.

The Republican party began its career in a flame of religious enthusiasm, like that which fired the Crusaders in their march to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Moslem Infidels. It professed a great mission to rescue this government from the wickedness and infidelity engendered by Slavery, to assert the brotherhood of all men as children of the all-Father, and to make this verily "a nation whose God is the Lord." Its grand appeal was to the Christian churches and its text book of politics was the Bible. In its first two national platforms of 1856 and 1860, it proclaimed as its chief purpose that "of restoring the action of the Federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson." It affirmed the doctrine of religion and morality in the government maintained by them and declared

"That the maintenance of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions."

"That we hold with our Republican fathers, to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our Federal government were, to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction."

Abraham Lincoln entered upon his great mission, with a heart imbued with this sentiment, and it pervaded all his public acts and words, until his death. In his farewell speech to the people of Springfield, when about to depart for Washington, after his first election, he said:

"A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He would never have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon whom he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him and on the Almighty Being I place my reliance and support." In his speech at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in 1861, he said of this doctrine of equal human rights, derived from God, and to be enforced by government: "If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say, *I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.*"

In the last words of his last Inaugural address, he said: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, *with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right*, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

The appeals made by the Republican party and its great leader, Abraham Lincoln, to the moral and religious sentiment of the nation, were nobly answered, not merely in the work of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, to assuage the horrors of war, but in the enlistment of soldiers for the battle-field and voters at the ballot box, for the success of the Union cause. They were the means of bringing so large a portion as then appeared of the Christian ministry and churches of the North with the Republican party. But during the administration of Lincoln a great change began to be seen in the moral character and control of that party. In the year 1862, the Beer Infidels (or Liberals, as they style themselves), first appeared in this country as an organized body and formed what is known as the Beer Congress, of which the first session was held in New York that year, and the fifteenth session was held last June, in Cincinnati. It has grown to be a vast social, financial and political power in our nation, with branch associations in all the States, Territories, districts and counties, combining with it the whole liquor interest of the country. The members at

first were mostly of foreign birth and anti-slavery sentiments, and allied themselves with the Republican party on that question, and in support of the Union. But they hated what they styled the Puritan fanaticism of that party; and they at their first session, dictated, and at every recurring session repeated their dictation of the terms on which their support should be continued in that party. In the life of Lincoln they could not control the party. Hence they opposed his renomination. To appease their enmity and secure their support, Hamlin, a Prohibitionist from Maine, was put aside from the Vice Presidency, and the inebriate Johnson from Tennessee, was substituted to represent the dram-shop interest. The last days of Lincoln were embittered by the demagogues and ringleaders of the party, in and out of Congress, who were subservient to the Beer Infidels, and opposed to his policy for the moral restoration of the government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. He was, under Providence, the Moses of his party, leading it through the Red Sea of civil war; and when from the heights of victory, he was looking into the promised land of peace and union, and was planning the great future of the Republic in the complete inauguration of civil liberty and the principles of religion and morality as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, the hand of one drunkard laid him prostrate in death, and the hand of another drunkard grasped the reins of government. From that time, the Beer Infidels rapidly assumed control of the party. They declared against all Sunday laws, temperance laws and moral legislation of every kind, as violations of the National Constitution, of religious freedom and personal liberty. Their power was seen in the last three of the five National Conventions of the Republican party which entirely ignored in their platforms the principles of the Declaration of Independence so prominently proclaimed by the party in the first two of those Conventions. Against these principles the Beer Infidels, like the slaveholders, are at war, for their enforcement in the government would destroy the liquor crime. In the year 1869, at the winter session of the Beer Congress, this resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That we hereby reiterate and reaffirm, as our standing creed and unchangeable whrpose, to use all honorable means to deprive puritanical and temperance men of the power they have so long exercised in the councils of the political parties of this country, and that for that purpose, we will support no candidate for any office who is identified with this illiberal and narrow-minded element."

Three years after this, we find the Republican party at its National Convention in Philadelphia, in 1872, nominating President Grant for re-election, and adopting the following resolution as the 16th plank of its platform:

"The Republican party proposes to respect

the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either State or national government."

This was accepted by the Beer Infidels as expressive of their views against the union of religion and morality with government. The author of this resolution, Herman Raster, the editor of a Beer organ at Chicago, was a member of the platform committee in that Convention, and this is his reply to a letter from J. A. Miller, of Portsmouth, Mich., inquiring as to the evils referred to in that resolution;

CHICAGO, ILL., July 10, 1872.

J. M. Miller—Dear Sir: In reply to yours of July 8th, I have to say that I have written the 16th resolution of the Philadelphia platform, and that it was adopted by the Platform Committee with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws. This purpose was meant to be expressed by reference to those rights of the people which had not been delegated to either National or State governments, it being assumed that the right to drink what one pleases (being responsible for the acts committed under the influence of strong drink), and the right to look upon the day on which Christians have their prayer meetings as any other day, were among the rights not delegated by the people, but reserved to themselves. Whether this explanation of the meaning of the resolution will satisfy you or not, I do not know. But as you want to serve the cause of truth, so do I; and what I have stated here in regard to the "true meaning and intent" of the 16th resolution of the Philadelphia platform is the truth.

Very respectfully, yours,

HERMAN RASTER.

This correspondence was that year published throughout the country, and especially by the city Republican press, to influence the dram-shop vote, as an authentic exposition of this plank in the platform, and the correctness of Mr. Raster's statement was not questioned.

Last year, 1874, the Republican State Convention of Illinois, adopted this resolution, showing that Mr. Raster gave the correct sense of the 16th plank of this last National Republican platform, as understood and intended by the leaders of the party:

"Resolved, That the Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves, as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and Federal Governments; and it will aim to secure the rights and privileges of the citizen without regard to nativity or creed; and it is opposed to interference by law with the habits, tastes, or customs of individuals, except to suppress licentiousness or to preserve th

peace and safety of the citizens of the State."

In addition to this we have the interpretation given by our Republican United States Senator, John Sherman of the present position of his party on this question. In his speech at Alliance, Ohio, as reported in the Cincinnati Gazette, in 1873, he said: "All parties to be useful must be founded upon political ideas which affect the framework of our Government, or the rights and immunities secured by law. Questions based upon temperance, religion, morality, in all their multiplied forms, ought not to be the basis of parties." In his speech at New London, Ohio, the same year (also reported in the Cincinnati Gazette), he said: "All parties in this country should be political parties. They ought not to be based upon religious or specially moral grounds; hence temperance parties and organizations of that kind are not in accordance with the spirit of our institutions. Religion, morality, &c., should be left to the individual consciences of men."

The candidate of the Republican party of this state for the office of Lieutenant Governor, Thomas L. Young, in his opening speech of the present campaign, at Columbus, expressed the pith of the Republican platform on the subject, in these words: "*Religion is one thing and politics is another.*" How different is all this from the doctrine of the early Republicans, as expressed by Charles Sumner, who said: "*Politics is but the application of morals to public affairs.*"

That the adoption of this plank in its platform, and the nomination of General Grant upon it, taken in connection with the course of his administration, were received by the Beer Infidels as an adoption of their principles and policy, and consequently secured their support in the election of 1872, we have the proof at the next (thirteenth) session of the Beer Brewers' Congress held at Cleveland in 1873. The President of that Congress, Henry Clausen, in his opening address before it, there said:

"Our relations with the government of the United States during the last year, have been of the most friendly character, and in several instances our requests, asking for some relief from some of the useless restrictions and regulations of the Internal Revenue Department, have been cheerfully complied with by the commissioner, Hon. J. W. Douglass. The Congress of the United States, *acting under the petition of the brewers* and with the concurrence of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, has classified malt liquors separate from spirituous liquors, and thereby made a discrimination in favor of malt liquors."

In the last words of his opening address, President Clausen said: "*The last Presidential election has shown us what unity among us can do. Let our votes and our work in the future be heard from in every direction.*"

At the same session, H. H. Reuter, of Boston (who is now President of the Congress,) in his speech said:

"It is true gentlemen, that our citizens of German extraction, almost as a body, identify themselves with the Republican party, and have reason to point with pride to many results achieved with their assistance." The reference here is evidently to the so-called German Liberals. Here then we have three facts, plainly stated: first, that almost the entire body of German Lib-

erals in '73 were in the Republican party; Second, that by their unity of votes and efforts in favor of Gen. Grant and the Republican party, they had achieved a great success for the interests of the Beer Congress; third, that they had obtained important concessions from the Republican Congress and administration, for the liquor traffic in general, and the beer business in particular. The evidence from the acts of the Republican party in their general government and in the States controlled by it during the last ten years, is overwhelming, as to its complete apostasy from the principles of Washington and Jefferson professed in the first years of its history, before it attained power in the nation. The truth is that its whole moral and political nature is changed. It was organized on a basis of morality and religion, and fought its way to victory on the platform of moral ideas. To-day it repudiates all claims of God, morality or religion, on government, and all connection between politics and the ten commandments. The men in Congress who voted for, and the President who accepted the salary steal, now tell us that the Divine command "Thou shalt not steal," does not apply to modern politics. The Republican party has experienced a bad regeneration. It is in the condition of the lunatic, in one of the asylums, of whom a visitor inquired his name. "My name," he said, "is Lucifer." "But," said the visitor, "you told me a few weeks since that you was the angel Gabriel." "That is true," said he, "I am both Gabriel and Lucifer, but by different mothers." So the Republican party has its two natures, angelic and infernal. Its angel part was born of the Bible, but its devil part was born of the dram-shop. Its angel has fulfilled its mission and has returned to the pearly gates above: its devil remains to "rule and ruin."

But notwithstanding all their public professions of the new Infidel dogma that politics have nothing to do with religion, the Republican leaders, in Ohio, this year, have taken up the religious question in a remarkable manner, and are loudly calling on all Protestants, Jews, and Infidels, to join them in a political crusade against the Catholic church. As a pretext for this, they say that the last Democratic legislature passed a law which gives equal rights to all religious sects in the public institutions. As there are twenty different Protestant sects in our State, against one Catholic sect, it is evident that every advantage under the law is twenty to one in favor of the Protestants, while no one can deny that the principles of equality is right. But it is said the leading Catholic organ in the state, which formerly sustained the Republican party, now advises its readers to vote the Democratic ticket; and that nearly all the Catholic voters in the Republican party have joined the Democratic. Are they any more dangerous in the Democratic party than they were in the Republican party? But they tell us that the great danger is that the Democratic party will become too religious, and that if it goes into power there will be a union of Church and State. What, the Democratic party a religious party! A greater lie was never uttered. I stand here to defend it from every such imputation. The truth is that the Democratic party has no religion whatever. It lies prostrate, with the Republican party, at the feet of the Infidels, licking the dust and begging for their votes.

The great want of both these parties, is religion. Anything—Roman Catholic, Universalist, Swedenborgian, Hicksite, Hardshell Baptist, Shaking Quaker, or Shouting Methodist, any that will cleanse them of their corruptions and will put the grace of God into their poor, sinful, dying souls. Brethren pray for them, for the worst of men and the worst of parties, but don't vote for them. Never fear that they will have too much religion.

The great peril which threatens our State, and nation is not the Roman Catholic or any other religion. It is Political Infidelity born of dram shops; with that the Republican party stands in open alliance. There are more Beer Infidels voting in the Republican party, they are increasing more rapidly in number by importation, and they exert a greater influence over that party, and through it over the government, than Catholic voters in the Democratic party. There are and has been great Catholic monarchies and republics in the world, under which people grew in civilization and prospered; but where is there an Infidel government in existence, among all the civilized nations? Where is there one, except our own, which though its ruling head, is heard asserting that God, religion and morality have no part in the frame work and operations of that government? Search all history and you will find but one, the miserable republic of Danton and Robespierre, which lived through a few months of horror by force of the guillotine, and then went down forever in a maelstrom of blood! Into the outer billows of that maelstrom our ship of state is fast moving, guided by a faithless pilot; and unless the Christian voters of this nation awake from their party delusion, and speedily change the helm, our Republic will soon follow that of France, into the same vortex of destruction.

Second—EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Very closely allied and indispensable to Religion and Morality in our system of government, is the general education of the people. The friends of this cause looked to the Republican party, with high hopes and confidence, which have been shamefully disappointed. The Republican party in Congress had the opportunity to have reconstructed the States which had been in rebellion, by a system of free and enforced education, on the basis of intelligence, but they left the millions of freedmen, and the great mass of the people there, in the profoundest depths of ignorance. The party held the power to have placed in the Constitution of the United States an amendment for free, universal and enforced education of the youth in all the States, and by law could have established it in the District of Columbia and throughout the organized Territories. But its leaders had no time to devote to such a glorious work, and the public money was too necessary for their selfish purposes. A few things the party pretended to do for education. It appointed a commissioner with an office at Washington, and styled it a Bureau of Education, to collect and publish statistics of which the annual reports show how vast and how vital to the welfare of the nation, is that work which the Republican party was entrusted with, for the education of the people, but which it did not even attempt to perform, during its long lease of power in Congress. A Bureau and College were founded ostensibly for the education

of freedmen, but were quickly converted into mere machinery for partisan frauds, peculations and corruptions, until the leading colored men at Washington have denounced them, under their party management, as mere political nuisances, and more of a curse than a benefit to the race. A few land grants were made, nominally for educational purposes, but they proved to be only plunder schemes in disguise, for the benefit of Republican politicians. Thus, like the Harpies at the tables of Phineas, it seemed that everything which was touched by the corrupt leaders of the party, was covered with pollution.

In this State, the foundations were laid and the superstructure was erected, of our noble free school system, before the Republican party came into existence. Whigs and Democrats, when in power, vied with each other in the work, and never until this year, was a party issue made, or permitted, over the public schools. The people regarded them as above all party interest and conflicts. During the fifteen years that the Republican party controlled our State affairs, very little was done for the improvement of the school system. But this year, the leaders of that party have waked up as from a life trance, on the subject, and are busy blowing the trumpets and ringing all the firebells in behalf of the schools. What is the matter? Why are they so suddenly zealous for education, in this political campaign? Simply and solely, because it is the object of the political gamblers at the head of that party, to win the next election game, if possible, by diverting the attention of the Protestant Churches from the temperance question and enlisting them in a sham fight against the Catholics. They play for the stakes with churches instead of cards. At the same time, knowing the opposition of the German Liberals to the Catholics, it is hoped, by this means to call back those who left the party last year, under the effect of the Temperance Crusade. So it is designed to unite Protestants and Beer Infidels, in a grand political crusade against the Catholics, for the sole object of electing the Republican ticket. The pretext for all this is, that the public schools are in danger from the Catholics. It is loudly asserted by the Republican press and speakers in this canvass, that the Catholic religion is inimical to education of the people and that it depends upon popular ignorance for support. If this charge be true, and if there is such imminent danger to the cause of education, both in the State and Nation, from that source, why did not the Republican leaders, during the fourteen years of their absolute power in Congress, and the fifteen years of their supremacy in this State, make provisions for the enforced education of the youth? Such an amendment to the National Constitution, and such a law in Ohio, would have removed all danger of this sort, if there is any truth whatever in this charge against the Catholics. It was the main thing wanted in our State, when the Republican party went into power, and found our grand free school system firmly established. We had enforced taxation and a great school fund, but a hundred thousand of the youth of our State were deprived totally, or for the most part, of the rich benefits so freely bestowed by the State. The Republican leaders were vainly urged by the friends of education to permit such a law to be passed.

They feared to lose the votes, not only of a few Catholics, but of the selfish and vicious parents and others, in charge of children, who were not willing to send them to the free schools. But no sooner was the Republican party overthrown in the State, and the Democrats took charge of the Legislature, than a bill for the enforced education of the youth of our State passed the Senate by a large majority, and only failed of becoming a law, because in the House it matured too late in the session for a final vote; but there was a majority in that branch in its favor, as was evidenced by the action there upon the bill. If the Republican theory of this campaign, on this question, be true, a more fatal blow could not have been struck at the Catholic power in this State, and yet it was done by a Democratic Senate, which it is pretended, was under control of the Catholics!

It is said that the special danger threatened, is the division of the school fund to enable the Catholics to maintain sectarian schools, with their part of the fund. And this is urged in face of the facts, that the constitution of Ohio forever prohibits the division of the school fund for any such purpose; that this Constitution was the work of the Democratic party largely in power in the convention which framed the constitution; that it was adopted, at the polls, by the Democratic party vote, the Whigs generally voting against it; and that the last Democratic State Convention adopted a resolution, expressly affirming that prohibition of the Constitution and declaring for the inviolability of the school fund. Yet, it is said, that there is a secret compact between the Democrats and Catholics, as to this matter; and the Republican leaders are in paroxysms of distress and terror over the imagined danger. They are in the mental condition of the servant girl, Dolly, who had been heating the brick oven for baking, and whom her mistress found sitting down in front of it, and weeping violently. On being asked what was the matter, she said:

"Oh, I have been thinking that if I should get married and should have a dear little baby; and

Oh, if I should be hearing the oven for baking, just as it is now, red hot; and

Oh, if that dear little baby should be playing in front of the oven and should fall in, and be all burned up.—

Oh, dear me, what a dreadful thing it would be!

Just so, these Republican Dollies are weeping through the newspapers and over all the stumps in the State, and when sensible people ask them what they are crying about, they say:

"Oh, we have been thinking, that if the Catholics should get the upper hand in the Democratic party; and

Oh, if the Democrats should carry the next election; and

Oh, if they should get the majority of two-thirds in both branches of the Legislature, required for the purpose; and

Oh, if the Catholics should compel all those Democrats in the Legislature, to vote in favor of a proposition submitting to the people an amendment of the Constitution, to strike out the section prohibiting the sectarian division of the school fund; and

Oh, if a majority of all the people of Ohio, should then vote in favor of such an amendment to the Constitution; and

Oh, if after that, the next Legislature should again be Democratic and should be controlled by the Catholics; and

Oh, if that Democratic Legislature should pass a law to divide the school fund, according to population, giving more than five-sixths of it to the Protestants and others, and less than one-sixth of it to the Catholics!

Oh, dear, what a dreadful thing it would be!"

The fact is, as we all recollect who were in that contest, the main battle was fought over the school question, more than twenty years ago, before the Republican party was formed. Then, there were many Protestant academies and seminaries throughout the State, for which much money had been invested in the erection of buildings, and it was seen that the introduction of free graded schools, on the union plan, would supplant these. Hence there was a very strong Protestant opposition, united to that coming from the Catholics. But the cause of free schools triumphed at the ballot box. The Union Schools were successfully established in all the cities and villages, and most of the Protestant school building were either converted to their use, or sold for other purposes. Now the Protestant opposition has nearly all ceased, and a considerable part of the Catholics favor the free schools. We have seen the fact stated in the press and not denied, that of six Catholic members of the last Constitutional Convention, all but one voted in favor of repeating in the new Constitution that section of the old, prohibiting a sectarian division of the School fund. However that may be, the opposition among the Catholics is the same which has existed for a quarter of a century, and there is nothing new in it, or in the expressions of sentiment, from Catholic speakers and writers, on the subject, which are published with such an outcry, by the Republican politicians and press. Among the mass of the people, the feeling of the free public schools has been growing stronger every day, during this quarter of a century; and it would be just as absurd to call for a fort and garrison, with pointed guns, above Niagara Falls, to prevent Catholics from rowing up the cataract, as it is to make a political party campaign against them, in defense of the schools. The great danger to them lies in another direction. It consists in the organized effort of the Dram Shop Infidels, operating through both of the old political parties, to drive religion and morality out of the public schools and to make them mere nurseries of Infidelity. They very well know that the only way to exclude religion and morality from the government, is to begin at the public schools. Hence the Bible is first expelled from the schools, and then all books and instructions which inculcate obedience to God and respect for his laws. This is the great evil which threatens destruction to our school system and which should unite all Christian voters, and all true friends of the schools, against both of those old parties.

Third—THE CRIME OF COLOR CASTE.

One of the crimes against God and man, opposed to religion and morality in the government, and in conflict with the Declaration of Independence, in that which discriminates against the rights of man on account of their race and color. This has been made the basis of slavery, injustice and oppression in all ages of the world. The Republican party is entitled to credit for

what it has done in the abolition of this crime, as to all native and naturalized citizens under our flag. The moral elements in that party could not have brought its leaders up to this work if they had not seen that a million colored votes, and the continuance of power and patronage for the party in the national government depended on it. Hence they went no farther in the work than their selfish interests required. Slavery, for its own purposes, restricted the benefit of the naturalization laws to free white persons. Of the five races of humanity, only the Caucasian was admitted to the rights of citizenship. The Republican party permitted this crime to remain in full force on the statute book, during the ten years in which it held absolute power in Congress. Then at the demand of the Freedmen of the South, and to secure their further support, in 1870, the Republican party in Congress took up the naturalization laws and amended them in these words:

"And be it further enacted, That the naturalization laws are hereby extended to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." There has been no change since.

It is a correct rule, that when a legislative body, having full power over a law, take it up, consider and amend it, the law as amended becomes the act of that body. The laws of naturalization as then amended, are therefore the act of the Republican party in Congress. By them all foreigners from three of the races of mankind, the Mongolian, Malay and Indian, are prohibited from becoming citizens of the United States, for no reason, except that they were not born with white or black skins. These comprise over two thirds of the whole population of our globe. All the barbarous tribes of Africa are welcome here, while the great semi-civilized races of the other hemisphere are rejected, solely on the ground of color. There is an opposition, chiefly in the European dram-shop element of the cities, to competition with cheap labor from other quarters of the globe. The immigrants from Asia are nearly all Prohibitionists, and they do not rush to the grog-shops with their patronage, on their first landing. They do not understand the importance of securing the favor of the Beer Infidels, if they would gain political rights under our government. The Republican leaders see that more votes might be lost than would be immediately gained, by opening the gates of the republic on terms of equality, to all mankind; and so they have deliberately adopted and perpetuated the crime of color caste in our government, to the eternal shame of our boasted free institutions. Last year, a gentleman from China, was denied his first naturalization papers, on application to a Republican Court, in my county, solely because he was guilty of being born with a yellow skin. These Republican leaders are now in moral convulsions, over dangers which they say, threaten our Republican institutions from the Catholics; and they are reading from the stump, and printing in their papers, statistics, to alarm the people, as to the great increase of Catholic immigration from Europe. If these men were honest, and while they held power, had obeyed God and done justice to the children of all His family, there would not be the slightest cause for any such apprehension. This Republic was born of God for a mighty and manifest destiny, that it might execute, and illustrate before all the world, the great principles of Divine Father-

Bible and in the Declaration of Independence. He placed it in its cradle here, between the two world-oceans, that as it grew in stature, it might spread abroad its arms over both, and gather in hood and human brotherhood, proclaimed in the to its bosom, with equal love and care, all the races of His children. There is the Atlantic, and across it stand Catholic and Protestant Europe, from which we have drawn so largely of immigration. There is the Pacific, and across it stands Anti-Catholic Asia, waiting to pour its millions into our midst, if we will give to them protection, with the benefits of education and equal rights. There are a thousand islands of Japan, with a population of over forty millions of the noblest type of the Mongolian race. They are the hereditary foes of the Romish Church. Long ago they expelled the Jesuits and exterminated their followers; and then for two centuries, they closed their ports against all the civilized world but the Protestant Dutch. Their children are taught to trample on the symbols of the Romish faith. But when these people come to our shores, eager to vote against the Catholics on any issue that may be made, they are met by these Republican leaders, who pretend to be in such lively terror of the Catholics, and are told that they cannot be permitted to vote here, because God clothed them with yellow skins. Two years ago, a Japanese embassy visited this country. Congress appropriated fifty thousand dollars for their expenses. They were received with civic ovations, by the Republican administration and the people, and were delighted with their welcome, and with what they saw of our institutions. All were satisfied that they were a people worthy of our alliance, and we entered into close commercial relations with them. A few weeks since, I was informed by a member of the Senior class of Princeton College, that one of the most talented and exemplary members of his class, is a native of Japan. Several students were sent to that College, by the Japanese Government, but were recalled last year. This young man declined to go, preferring to complete his education and perhaps cast his lot here. Imagine him, when he graduates next year, going before a Republican court, to declare his intention of becoming a citizen of this republic. He is told that by a law enacted by the Republican party in Congress, there are two superior races here, the black and white, and because he belongs to a race inferior in color, he cannot be admitted to political equality with them. Well might he exclaim, "Can this be so? In Japan we were taught that ours was the superior race, and that all others in the world were our inferiors. So we closed our doors and refused to have intercourse with them. Then came your Commodore Perry, with his fleet, and told us that God was the Maker and Father of us all, and that all men were brethren, endowed by their Creator with equal rights to life, liberty, and happiness. It was not his fleet and cannon that awed us, but this glorious message which he brought, won our hearts, and we threw wide open our doors and our arms to your people. And now I am told, in this land of the Declaration of Independence, by your great Republican party which rules this government, that all this is a cheat and a lie; that we are not children of the same Father, entitled to equal rights. Oh, have I been so deceived? My God, in this America!" But look again. There, in the Pacific ocean

are the Sandwich Islands plucked from barbarism and converted to Christianity, by the toils and sacrifices of devoted Protestant American missionaries; where citizens of American birth are received with honor, clothed with the suffrage, and invested with the highest offices in the Kingdom, next to the King himself. Last year, his Hawaiian majesty came to this country, the first monarch who ever visited the United States and was received by the Republican administration with distinguished honor. The Republican Congress voted twenty-five thousand dollars to pay his expenses, and he had splendid receptions at Washington and in our chief cities. But if he had proposed to lay down his crown to become a citizen of this republic; or if any of his Protestant subjects had come with him, to dwell here, as the home of the Christian civilization which they had become taught by the American missionaries to love, they would have been met by this Republican party, with the Infidel taunt, that there is no such thing as the equality of human rights under God; that they wore brown skins, and were of Malay origin, too far below the scale of our humanity, to claim the rights of manhood here.

There, also, are the Christian Indians of Canada, of whom there are a large number, Protestants and Prohibitionists, with schools and churches, far advanced in intelligence and civilization. But they cannot cross the St. Lawrence and enter our Republican family, because they have red skins, though they are part of that aboriginal race which once owned this continent.

And yet the Republican leaders who have so infamously apostatized from the main principles on which their party was formed, while they thus bolt and bar the gates of the Republic against more than seven hundred millions of anti-Catholics, because they are not of a white or black color, have the audacity to pretend, in the face of an intelligent people, that they are in great fear of Catholic supremacy in our government, on account of white immigration from Europe. The double hypocrisy of this pretense is manifest from another fact. At the Ohio State Republican Convention of 1873, this resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That we cordially welcome to our shores the oppressed of all countries, and, remembering with pleasure that adopted citizens have always proved loyal to the flag of the republic, we favor such modification of the naturalization laws, as will materially shorten the time of probation before voting."

Here was this Republican party, only two years ago, down on its knees before our Catholic adopted citizens, asking for their votes, praising their loyalty to the flag, and proposing (what no other convention of party demagogues ever before offered), to take down the low limit fixed by the fathers of the Republic for the probation of aliens, and to hasten them at once, to the ballot box.

Now they denounce these Catholic adopted citizens as enemies of our institutions, and profess to be greatly alarmed because they form so large a part of our immigration.

If they made such excellent citizens two years ago, what is the matter now?

Fourth—THE LIQUOR CRIME.

Another crime opposed to Religion and Morality in the government, the greatest of all

crimes against God and man, and more destructive to the lives, liberty and happiness of the people, than all other crimes combined, is the Liquor crime. The Republican party in its cradle was pledged to the extinction of this crime. We are often told, as a reason why Prohibitionists should vote the Republican ticket, that there were more friends of temperance in its ranks than in the Democratic party. Whatever may be the fact now (and it is fast becoming a doubtful point), once it was emphatically true. The Republican party was born in the arms of Temperance and Freedom, under a mutual covenant by the friends of both reforms, to apply the same principle of Prohibition to slavery and the liquor crime. Before the birth of the Republican party, the Prohibition cause was moving in majesty and power over the nation, and commanding at the ballot-box, the suffrages of more than a million voters. Beginning with the enactment of the Maine Law in 1851, it carried the six New England States, with New York, Delaware, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota and Nebraska. Thirteen States and Territories enacted the Maine Law, and a powerful organization had arisen in its support, in Ohio and most of the States in the Union. This great onward movement was interrupted by the passage of the Nebraska bill through Congress, and the civil war in Kansas. The Republican party was formed; and of the thirteen States which gave their electoral votes for the first Republican candidate for President, General Fremont, eleven had passed the Maine Law, and the other two, Ohio and Michigan, had a strong Prohibition vote in each, forming a large majority of the Republican party there. But how has the Republican party paid the debt of its birth? Only with the knife of the parricide. In all but two of those Maine Law States, it stands this day covered with the blood of the temperance cause. To obtain the votes of the Beer Infidels, it either abolished the prohibitory laws against malt and fermented liquors, or substituted the license system. Last year it did this in three of those States, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Michigan, where this party has long held complete control. The only Prohibitory States left, are Maine and Vermont, and if it had not been for the overwhelming popularity of the Maine Law in those two States, arising from its successful operation there through more than twenty-two years, the Republican leaders would have added them to the sacrifice, which they had offered on the altars of Gambrinus, to secure the favor of the Beer Congress. Pledges given to the temperance voters of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania, by the Republican leaders, in favor of general or local prohibition, and even inserted in their party platforms, by which they gained the support of those voters for Grant in 1872, have been ruthlessly violated; and except the two Maine Law States, the Republicans now stand as a political unit, opposed to Prohibition. Their alliance with the Beer Infidels is open and shameless. The Beer Congress, at several of its last sessions, has had an official representative of the Grant administration there, whose reports were made to the Government and printed at the public expense. When was a national Temperance convention thus honored by our government? When were its statistics and proceedings admitted to a place in the public archives? So far to the con-

trary, the last Republican Congress refused the petitions of the National Temperance Society, and of many thousands of our most worthy citizens, to appoint a National Commission, without expense to the Government, to collect and report statistics and facts connected with the liquor traffic, vital to the interests of the country. The Republican administration has gone into public co-partnership with the liquor interest, and by its patronage has immensely increased the product and consumption of all liquors, and especially of malt and fermented liquors. President Grant in one of his messages to Congress, recommended the appointment of a commission to devise ways and means to enlarge the production of intoxicating liquors, for foreign export, that thus the revenue might be increased. A quarter of a century ago, the manufacture of what is known as the German or Lager Beer, was unknown in this country. Now it has three thousand breweries in operation in the United States, and its annual product is over nine million barrels. This great increase is due very much to the fostering aid of the Republican party, in the State legislatures and in Congress; and the fact is recognized in the thanks voted by the Beer Congress to the Republican Administration and Congress, for their discrimination in favor of malt and brewed liquors against distilled liquors. This is seen in the tax levied. Every gallon of whisky, the favorite Democratic fluid, pays a revenue of ninety cents, while lager beer, the favorite Republican beverage, pays a direct tax of only one dollar per barrel; and other charges are in proportion. Democratic whisky is taxed almost thirty times as much as Republican beer. Last winter, it was discovered that there was a void, an "aching void," in the treasury, caused by excessive larceny, which required at least forty millions to fill it. President Grant proposed to restore the tax on "the poor man's luxuries," tea and coffee (which had been abolished at the session of Congress next prior to the election of 1872, to make votes for him), and to increase the tax on whisky. The tax on tea and coffee was about twenty-five millions a year, while that on nearly nine million barrels of beer, was not over nine million dollars. Yet the Republican leaders did not dare to increase the tax on beer, but they added a large per centum to the tax on whisky and tobacco. This fact demonstrates their abject servility to the Beer Infidels.

When a political party stands up and declares to the world, that God has nothing to do with its administration of the government, then it admits that the devil has everything to do with it. If God's laws have no recognition and no power in it, then the engine that propels it is fed by infernal fires. This is literally true of the Republican administration. The motive power which propels its machinery, comes from the blood and tears of the wretched victims of intemperance. The last National Republican Convention declared that the whole internal revenues should come from liquor and tobacco. It seems fitting that an administration which lives and moves and has its being in the vices and crimes of its people, should renounce all allegiance to Heaven and enter into open alliance with Hell. The Republican party is the first and only National License party that ever existed in the United States. It is denied by some of the apologists for this party, that the license to make and vend intoxicating liquors,

issued under the internal revenue act first passed by the Republican Congress in 1862, and as since amended, is anything but a mere tax receipt. Senator Sherman in his speech at Springfield last year said: "A license is a permit to do something; the United States taxes every liquor seller, but they do not license." This is true within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the state government only. A full license includes the police power, and that the general government cannot exercise within the States, except as to certain specific crimes and offences against the nation. But in all of the territories, covering an area larger than the thirteen original States which formed the Union; in the District of Columbia, on all the great lakes and navigable rivers which are the national highways of commerce, and over the inter-State railway lines, the general government has absolute police control. Wherever intoxicating liquors are lawfully made or sold within this national jurisdiction, it is only by direct authority and permission of the Republican administration. Every one there engaged in this destroying work, is the agent of the Republican party, and of every man who votes the Republican ticket. The revenue act provides that it shall not be held to authorize any trade, occupation or business, specially prohibited by State or municipal law. Outside of the States, the liquor traffic is covered by the federal permit, except the Indian reservations and a few places where it has been interdicted by authority of Congress. Everywhere else it exists by national license. An illustration of this fact occurred in the Territory of Utah: The Mormons are prohibitionists, and by law suppressed the traffic of intoxicating drinks in Salt Lake City. As a natural result, while that law was in force, they had peace and order in that city. A lawyer residing there, formerly from Ohio, whom I have known for thirty years, who is not a Mormon, informed me that such was the good order there that ladies in the evening, went alone through any street in the city, in perfect safety. Now all is changed, for grog shop ruffianism and disorder have taken possession, under the license system. When the Pacific railway was completed liquor sellers began their clandestine traffic. The Mormon authorities enforced their prohibitory laws. The United States District Judge appointed by the Republican administration at Washington, pronounced all prohibition of the traffic against the laws of Congress null and void, and held that only a license law could be maintained. Then the Mormon authorities placed the license fee at three hundred dollars per month, and several licenses were taken out at that high rate. But the same Judge pronounced this equivalent to prohibition and therefore void. The Mormons reduced it to two hundred dollars a month, and this he also declared void. Then they reduced it, to one hundred dollars per month, and this he permitted to stand. Thus the Republican party forced the pestilential curse on the people there, who sought to protect themselves against it. This was the same judge who was removed from office for imprisoning a polygamist, but he was sustained by the Republican administration in this outrage on the people, to augment the blood-stained revenues of the government. Such has been the course of the Republican party in the nation on this question. What did it do in our State during fifteen years that it held entire con-

trol here? It found a law upon the statute book, which, in a mutilated form, is yet in existence, and had been passed by the Democratic Legislature in 1854, when the Democratic party had a majority of two-thirds in both branches. At the December term that year, it was taken to the Supreme Court, then composed entirely of Democratic Judges, Thurman (now U. S. Senator), Ranney, Bartley, Kennon, and Warden, was fully examined by them, and pronounced constitutional and right. Hence it was emphatically Democratic law, and yet there is no credit due to the Democratic party for its enactment. It was won in a political battle by the Prohibitionists, who in 1853, threw off their party fetters, and by an organized effort elected about one-third of the members of the Legislature pledged for the Maine Law, and the others pledged for a stringent substitute. This law was a result of that effort, and was forced from the Democratic majority, as by the sword, to escape the alternative of the Maine Law. The first three sections, prohibit the sale of distilled liquors to be drank in upon or about the premises where sold, and the sale of any intoxicating liquor to minors or drunkards. The eighth section, as then enacted, provide: "That for every violation of the provisions of the first, second and third sections of this act, every person so offending shall forfeit and pay a fine of not less than twenty, nor more than fifty dollars, *and be imprisoned in the jail of the county for not less than ten nor more than thirty days*, and pay the costs of prosecution;" and for keeping a place where liquors are sold in violation of the act, a fine of from fifty to one hundred dollars, *and imprisonment in the county jail from twenty to fifty days*. This law had a great effect on the tlt traffic. In a number of counties, liquor sellers and their victims were looking out at the same grated windows of the jail. There was a dram shops, and the Republican Legislature sold itself to them for votes in support of the party. In 1859, the Republican party being in full power in both branches, the Legislature passed a law amending the Act of 1854, by striking out the word "and," wherever it occurred before the imprisonment clause, and substituting the word "or", thus throwing upon the judges of courts the responsibility of imprisoning liquor dealers, without the requirement of law. This was like a knife driven to the heart of the law and it has been dead ever since. Few judges have since dared to use their discretion for imprisonment; and what do liquor dealers care for a paltry fine of a few dollars, which they can make up in the profits of a few hours, at their bars? It was the jail only that had terrors for them.

Next the Republican Legislature passed a law prohibiting, under severe penalties, the taking of intoxicating liquors into jails (unless inside of a man); and having thus declared by statute that liquor sellers and liquors were too good to go to jail, the Republican party rested from its labors on this question. It passed an act against the sale of liquor on election days. What other law did it pass against the traffic during those fifteen years of its supremacy in our State? And yet there are found men professing to be political teachers of the people so ignorant of our public legislation as to say, we owe all our temperance laws to the Republican party.

Last year, for the first time in its history, the Republican party of Ohio, compelled by the

pressure of the temperance crusade, referred to the evil of "intemperance," in its platform, and declared that the "restraint" of it, "and the forfeiture of public trust for intoxication, are demanded by the moral and material welfare of society and the State." It said nothing against the liquor traffic, but only condemned drunkenness and drunkards. Yet even here it was dishonest. It merely admitted a great wrong of which it had been guilty, but without repentance or reform. The Republican party has placed in the highest office of the nation, in the Presidency, a drunkard for four years, and a semi-drunkard for eight years. It placed in the high office of Lieutenant-Governor of this State, in 1871, a Beer Infidel, who was a notorious inebriate, and who, at the time of his nomination, was found in such a state of intoxication, by the committee appointed for the purpose (as we are informed by one of them, who is now a Prohibitionist), that they did not, for the sake of decency, present him to the Nominating Convention. He was elected by nearly the full party vote. The next year he was placed by the party, as one of the two delegates for the State-at-large, at the head of the delegation sent to the Republican National Convention, to nominate Gen. Grant and to engraft the Beer Infidel doctrine in the sixteenth plank of its platform. The next year after that he was elected by his party to the Constitutional Convention to work for the liquor interest there. The party has appointed myriads of drunken politicians to office in the Nation, and thousands of them are now in office. This year, in Ohio, it has placed on its State ticket three candidates well known as addicted to intoxication, and it has everywhere through the State nominated men for office who drink liquor largely, for the purpose of winning back that part of its dram-shop vote which it lost last year. The Prohibitionists who were then led away by that false decoy into the Republican wilderness, to see "a reed shaken of the wind," are left there deserted, with nothing in their hands but another proof of Republican perfidy, another of these broken reeds of Egypt. When a political party denounces and derides all faith of government in God, who can look to it for fidelity to man?

FIFTH—THE COST OF GOVERNMENT.

The Republican party promised, as one of the principles of Washington and Jefferson, to restore economy in the administration of the government. It denounced the Democratic party, especially, for its profligate expenditures while in power. How it has fulfilled its promise of this reform, it is easy to see by reference to a few official figures. The average annual expense of our government for all purposes except debts in the eight years of Washington's administration, was less than two millions of dollars, and in the eight years of Jefferson's administration, was not much over five millions. Under Grant it has risen up to over three hundred millions a year, more than four fold that of the highest Democratic administration. As proof of the financial difference between a government which honors God and obeys the ten commandments, and one which pays no respect to them in politics, but all respect to the Beer Congress, we will contrast by figures the two Republican administrations of Lincoln and Grant. Omitting all expense for the principal and interest of the Public Debt, for the Army,

the Navy, the Indians and Pensions, we find the annual expenditures of the general government for three years, to June 30th, were as follows:

UNDER LINCOLN.

| | |
|------|-----------------|
| 1862 | \$21,385,862 59 |
| 1863 | 23,198,383 37 |
| 1864 | 27,572,216 87 |

Total \$72,156 461 83

Being an average of \$24,062,153 94

UNDER GRANT.

| | |
|------|-----------------|
| 1873 | \$73,328,110 06 |
| 1874 | 69,641,533 02 |
| 1875 | 71,070,702 98 |

Total, \$214,040,346 06

Being an average of \$70,346,788 02 a year, or almost three times the amount expended under Lincoln for the ordinary purposes of government. When the Republican chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House called attention to the facts, that the costs of collecting the customs had increased from \$4,000,000 in 1866 to \$8,000,000 in 1873; that since 1865 to 1874 the sum of \$103,000,000 had been spent on public buildings; that a large number of collecting officers were kept whose salaries exceeded the amounts of their collections, and that the expenses of the government were in excess of its income, by over forty millions, it was evident that the principles of Washington and Jefferson were very foreign to the treasury department, under this Republican administration. In four years the whole amount expended for the Indians, was fourteen millions under Lincoln, and twenty-six millions under Grant.

SIXTH.—AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

The Republican party, as the professed representative of the right of free labor, is indebted for its success to the confidence and suffrages of the farmers of the country, and especially of the West. How it has treated them in return, is seen in this expression of sentiment as to both the old parties, adopted by the Illinois State Farmer's Association, in December 1873:

"Resolved, That the recent record of the old political parties of this country, is such as to forfeit the confidence and respect of the people, and that we are therefore absolved from all allegiance to them and should act no longer with them."

Last year (1874) a State Convention of farmers there, nominated an independent ticket against both the old parties, and cast over seventy-five thousand votes. While the Republican Congress bestowed immense grants of land, money and power, to build up corrupt money kings, and great railway monopolies, which bind our farmer of the West to their iron chariots and rob their industry by oppressive exactions, it denied to the farmers the legislation which they sought for their protection and for the development of agriculture. Their interests are allied with the commerce of the country. The war had, for the most part, driven the American flag from the seas. It required aid from the government to restore our shipping. President Grant, in 1873, officially informed Congress of the fact, that we were then paying eighty millions a year to foreign vessels to carry our surplus products to the world's

market. With that balance of trade against us, how could we resume specie payment? Congress refused aid to the honest mariners, seeking to rebuild the commerce of the nations and to restore the old glory of our flag before all nations; but it voted a million subsidy to one Mail Steam Ship Company to carry twenty-five thousand a year of mail transportation to Asia, and millions to other Ocean Steam Ship lines, for the special benefit of Republican politicians, who shared largely in the profits, as proved by official investigations. It is equally true as to the lines of internal transportation and trade. In return for their hopes and suffrages, the farmers of the West have received from this Republican party, another broken reed.

SEVENTH—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

In 1872, the Republican National Convention affirmed in its platform that, "Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered as rewards for mere party zeal, is fatally demoralizing," and declared itself for a reform of the system. Although opposed to the idea of morality in the government, and unwilling that it should be moralized, it was of the opinion that it might be demoralized 'fatally,' and proposed to try its hand at a moral reform movement. It was a "trump card," boldly played by the Republican gamblers in the Presidential game of that year. No trumpet was more loudly sounded than that which told of the coming millennium in politics, under Grant, when all the corruptions of executive patronage were to be purged away by the new civil service reform. It had its effect and helped to swell his majority in that election. Then a dumb show was exhibited before the people, to amuse them while in the matter, and a commission of highly respectable men was appointed to report rules and regulations for the purpose. They reported accordingly, and their report was printed and sent all over the country. A number of boys were examined under it as candidates for West Point Military Academy, and a few applicants for some inferior civil appointments. Then the machine ceased to work. The Republican members of Congress who had been loudest before the people, in praising this reform, were found resisting every practical measure in its behalf.

In his last annual message to Congress, President Grant said:

"I announce that if Congress adjourns without any positive legislation on the subject of Civil Service Reform, I will regard such action as a disapproval of the system, and will abandon it, except so far as to require examinations for certain appointments to determine their fitness. Competitive examinations will be abandoned."

That last Republican Congress did adjourn without the required legislation and the system is accordingly abandoned. So ends another farce. So drops the curtain on the last thimble-rig performance of the Republican jugglers.

TEN BROKEN REEDS.

Thus, friends, we have been over a wide space, and have considered seven of the greatest political reforms, not only of the past, but of the present and the future: ten living reforms, which reach from the lowest foundation stone to the loftiest pinnacle in the superstructure of

government. They all involve moral principles, which not only "affect the framework," but form the frame, the life and the soul of the government. We have seen at each step what strong promises and pledges were given by the Republican leaders as to every one of them, but like the equivocating fiend, they "held the word of promise to the ear, and broke it to the hope." As to all these promised reforms, we can see only the broken reeds of Egypt, in the pierced and bleeding hands of the people.

THE RESULT.

But there must be an end to all such treachery, and that end is at hand. Gentlemen, leaders of the Republican party, you are good thieves, sharp in your business, and rich in practice. You have stolen hundreds of millions of dollars from the treasury, and hundreds of millions of acres from the public lands. But there is one thing you cannot steal. You can not filch back the confidence of the people, when once their eyes are opened to your perfidy; and that they are fast opening, the elections of the last year have shown. You may again try to hoodwink them. You may go to Rome, and steal the Pope's mantle, and bring that to throw over their heads, as you have done. You may call up all the ghosts of the Know-Nothing lodges, to help delude them; but they will yet see through it all. They will say to you as Tazewell, of Virginia, said to Martin Van Buren: "You have deceived me once, that was your fault; when you deceive me again it will be mine."

Because the Republican party has met with some great reverses as the result of its misconduct, we are urged to aid it with our votes, and to restore it to power. For the Beer Infidel vote, it sold its very soul to the devil; and now, as the devil in the shape of the Democratic party, comes for it, we are asked to interfere, and save it from the consequence of its own wickedness and folly. All we have to say is, that if it is the will of a just Providence, that the devil shall have his own, we will not interfere with Providence. It is said, that although each of these old parties is in possession of the devil, the Democratic devil is very large and black, but the Republican devil is comparatively small, with a visible admixture; and that we ought to help the little devil against the large one. We are asked to take up the scales and spectrum, and to test the difference in weight, size and color, and to vote between the different degrees of diabolism. Our answer is, that we have been taught by the best of teachers, to "resist the devil," without regard to size or complexion. In whatever form or disguise he comes, our duty is away from him, and against him.

But lastly, and for the ten thousandth time, we are told that although right, we cannot succeed by our independent action, against both these old parties. Where does that voice come from? Not from the skies. It comes up from the arch-Infidel of the pit, and is uttered in all our ears by his emissaries in charge of these parties. We know better, and by infallible authority. We know that we can and will succeed, because we are right, and because the Lord of the right rules and reigns in the heavens above, and will rule on the earth beneath.

We are like the Hebrew captives in the walls of Babylon. We see the Republican Belshazzar at his feast of plunder and power, in the palace

surrounded by dram-shop Infidels, drinking the wine of sacrilege from the golden vessels consecrated to God by the hands of our fathers, scoffing at that God and at all religion and morality in the government; but we see the hand-writing on the wall, "*Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*," and we hear the Democratic Meads and Persians thundering at the gates. What part have we in this war between them? What do we choose between that foe which riots in the palace, or that foe which rages at the gates, only that it may take the same Godless plunder? Our whole trust is in the Lord, Most High and Most Mighty, in whose hands are the issues of every conflict on the battle field, or at the ballot box. At His word,

"The angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he passed,"
and 180,000 of the Infidel scoffers against Zion lay dead in the camp of Sennacherib. That angel of death is looking out on the Infidel leaders of both these old parties; and soon it will be said, the might of their millions,

"Unsmote by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord."

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"The entire suppression of the Liquor Traffic is our unqualified duty, at the ballot-box, at the earliest possible moment."

—Address of National Division.

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Is just the one for honest men.
That moment, for honest men, I trow,
Is just this possible moment, NOW!
"*Now* is the time, the accepted time!"
Sounds through the borders of our clime;
The gathering voices join to say:
'PRAY AS YOU VOTE!—VOTE AS YOU PRAY!'
From the St. Lawrence to the flow
Of the blue waves of Mexico;
From the Atlantic's thundering roar
To broad Pacific's quiet shore;
From mountain tops, to deepest vales,
This trumpet call the freeman hails:
'NOW IS THE TIME!—THIS IS THE DAY!
PRAY AS YOU VOTE!—VOTE AS YOU PRAY!'
'The earliest possible moment.' Yes!
This moment shall our nation bless;
This is the moment, *this* the hour,
To strike the Demon Liquor Power!
Oh! if we put this moment off,
How shall that Demon hiss and scoff!
'Put off your vote!' that Demon cries
From out his Refuge of Lies.
'Repent not now!' the Devil sneers
In every weeping sinner's ears:
'To-morrow will do just as well!
To-morrow he is mine—in Hell!'
No! by the Christian's conquering vow,
The time to turn from sin is *now*!
No! by the path to Heaven he trod,
Now is the time to turn to God!
March to the polls, ye freemen, then,
And from your lines of voting men!
Strike the Rum Power, with lightning shocks,
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